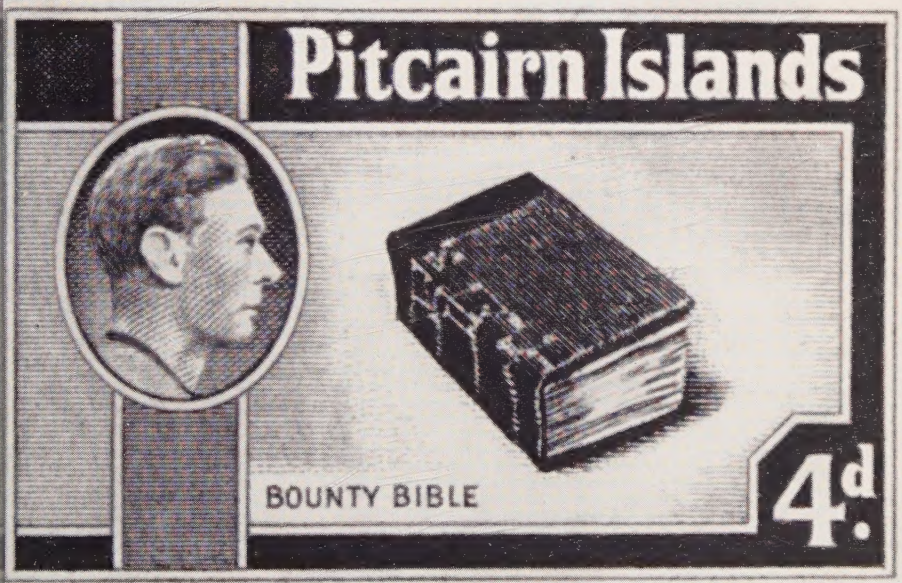
The Connecticut Historical Society

BULLETIN *Volume 19, Number 2 April 1954*



Postage stamp of *Bounty* Bible returned by the Society to Pitcairn Island, 1950.

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Connecticut Historical Society
BULLETIN

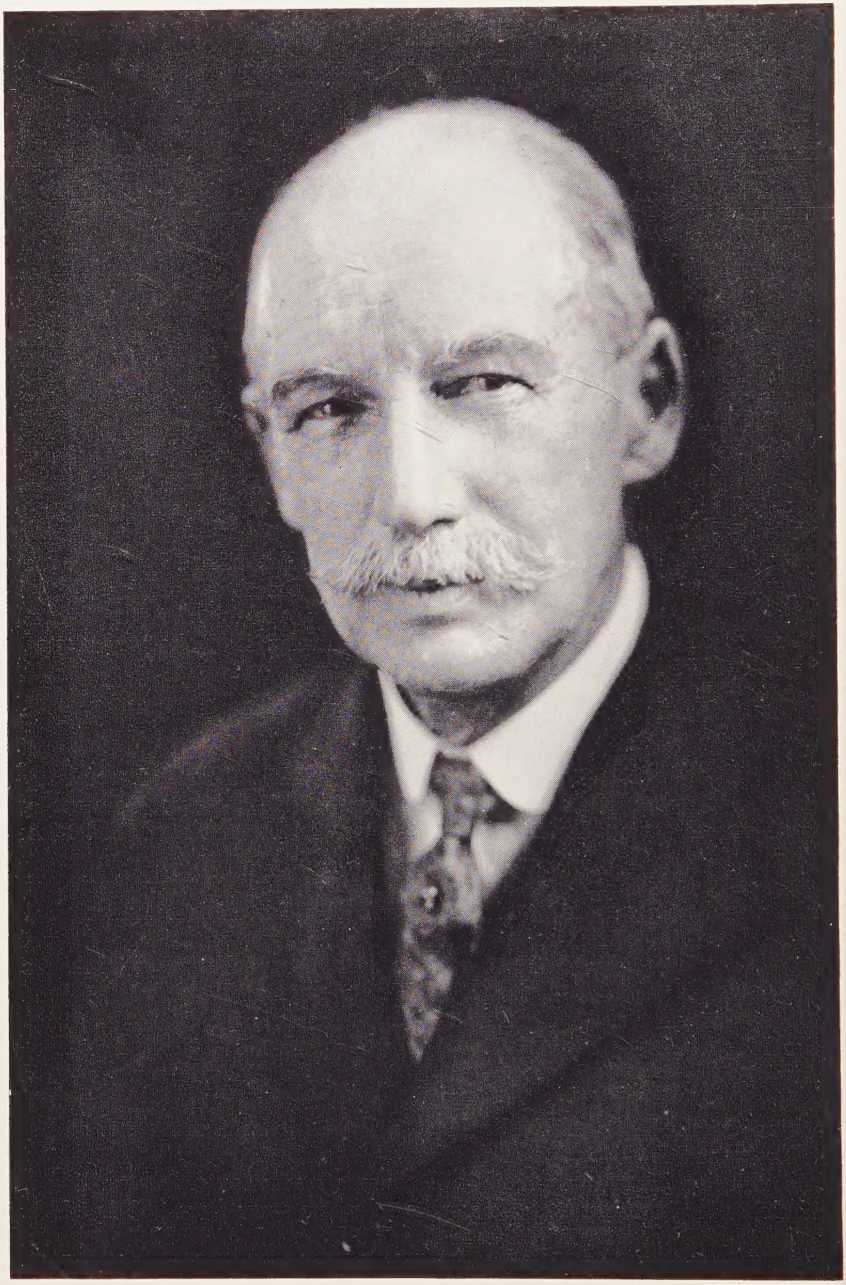
Volume 19 Hartford, April, 1954 Number 2

Albert Carlos Bates

Albert Carlos Bates, son of Carlos and Hannah Spencer (Powers) Stowell Bates, was born March 12, 1865, in East Granby. He died March 27, 1954, after a long illness, at his home on Marshall Street, Hartford. Mr. Bates attended the high school in Athol, Massachusetts, for one year, followed by the Connecticut Institution in Suffield, for three years, where he was graduated in 1885. He then worked his farm in East Granby for several years. On May 1, 1892, he entered the employ of The Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford. On the first of the following January he was appointed Librarian of the Society and continued in that office until May 1940, when he declined reelection and was made Librarian Emeritus. In May 1893, he was elected Recording Secretary of the Society, and in May 1899, elected a member of the Membership Committee. In May 1897, he was elected a member of the Publication Committee and four years later was made Chairman. On this committee, acting as editor, he compiled, edited, and saw through the press more than twenty volumes and fifty pamphlets of the Society's publications. These include Volumes 7 through 24 of the *Collections*, and the *Bulletin* through Volume 6, number 3. He resigned from this committee in October 1942. Personally he has published several volumes and pamphlets of town, church and other records. He also compiled several bibliographies and wrote a number of historical monographs which have been published by the Acorn Club of Connecticut, The American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, and The Connecticut Historical Society, of each of which he was a member; by other societies, and by the *Connecticut Law Journal*. He received the honorary degree of M.A. from Trinity College, Hartford, in 1920. He represented East Granby in the 1905 session of the General Assembly. On October 19, 1912, he married Alice Morgan Crocker of Hartford, born December 13, 1871, daughter of Jeremiah and Cynthia Morgan (Tucker) Crocker. She was graduated from the Hartford Public High School in 1891, and for some years held responsible positions in the Hartford Public Library, including head cataloguer and acting Assistant Librarian. She died February 28, 1953.

As librarian of this Society, Mr. Bates was instrumental in acquiring untold riches for its collection. He saw its members grow from 282 in 1892 to 530 in 1940. Assets increased from $16,580.09 to $512,783.88.

Mr. Bates was a noted collector. His collections of Connecticut Indian materials, and children's books, were given to the Society in 1950 and 1953, respectively. His collection of Connecticut laws was given to The American Antiquarian Society a few years ago. He also had collections of samplers,



Bachrach, courtesy of The Hartford Times

Albert Carlos Bates (1865-1954)

glass, and engravings by Richard Brunton which he wanted the Society to have but the untimely death of his wife made delivery impossible. A chronological bibliography of his writings follows, except for his check-list of Connecticut broadsides before 1800, the manuscript of which is being prepared for publication by the Society in the near future.

Bibliography of works Compiled, Collaborated, Edited and Written by Albert Carlos Bates

(except those as Editor of the Society)

Records of Rev. Roger Viets, rector of St. Andrews, Simsbury, Connecticut, and missionary from the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, 1763-1800. Hartford. [Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] 1893. 84 p. 25½ cm. "100 copies printed. no. ."

Rev. Dudley Woodbridge, his Church Record at Simsbury in Connecticut, 1697-1710. Hartford [Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] 1894. 32 p. 25½ cm. "100 copies printed. no. ."

"Connecticut Almanacs of the Last Century." (In *Connecticut Quarterly*, v. 4, no. 4, October-December, 1898) p. [408]-416. 26 cm.

Simsbury, Connecticut, Births, Marriages and Deaths, Transcribed from the Town Records. Hartford, [The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] 1898. 345 p. facsim. 25 cm. "150 copies printed. no. ."

"The Connecticut Gore Land Company." *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1898*, p. 139-162. 24½ cm. Washington, 1899.

Connecticut Statute Laws. A Bibliographical List of Editions of Connecticut Laws. From the Earliest Issues to 1836. [Hartford] Acorn Club, 1900. 8 plus 120 pp. 27 cm. [Acorn Club of Connecticut Publication 3]

"Report on the Public Archives of Connecticut." Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901. 26-36 p. 24½ cm. "From First report of Public Archives Commission in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900, Vol. II, pages 26-36."

Records of the Society or Parish of Turkey Hills, now the Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1737-1791. Hartford, 1901. 78 p. 24½ cm. "100 copies printed. no. ."

Records of the Second School Society, in Granby, now the Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1796-1855. Hartford, 1903. 47 p. 24½ cm. (Half-title: Turkey Hills Series, no. 2) "100 copies printed. no. ."

An Early Connecticut Engraver and his Work. Hartford [The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] 1906. 48 p. front., 42 pl. 23 cm.

Records of the Congregational Church in Turkey Hills, now the Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1776-1858. Hartford, 1907. 158 p. 1 *l.* 24½ cm. (Half-title: Turkey Hills Series, no. 3) "100 copies printed. no. ."

"Charter Oak." [Hartford, Connecticut, The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] 1907. 9 p. 19 cm. "Reprinted from *Encyclopedia Americana*."

The History of the Holy Jesus; a list of editions of this once popular children's book. Hartford [The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company] 1911. 14 p. 23 cm.

"Check List of Connecticut Almanacs, 1709-1850." With Introduction and Notes. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, v. 24, p. 93-215. 25 cm. Worcester, 1914.

"Thomas Green." [New Haven, 1914] Cover-title, p. [289]-309. 24 cm. Read April 21, 1913. Reprinted from the *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, vol. 8, 1914.

A List of Official Publications of Connecticut, 1774-1788, as shown by the bills for printing. [Hartford, Press of Hartford Printing Company] 1917. 54 p. 24 x 20 cm. (Acorn Club of Connecticut. [Publication no. 14]) "One hundred copies printed, no. ."

"Fighting the Revolution with Printer's Ink in Connecticut: the official printing of that colony from Lexington to the Declaration." . . . New Haven, 1918. Cover-title, p. [129]-160. 24 cm. Read January 15, 1917. Reprinted from *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, vol. IX.

[Winship, George Parker] 1871- *Notes on a Reprint of the New England Primer Improved, for the year 1777 for the more easy attaining the truth* . . . Cambridge in N.E., Printed by C.P. and are to be had in Boston where the Good Monk speeds up Beacon-Hill away from Brimstone-Corner. [1922] [24] p. 12 cm. "These notes were gathered from fifty-seven copies of the Primer, and have been put together by George Parker Winship with the generous collaboration of Albert Carlos Bates and Wilberforce Eames."

Records of Rev. Ransom Warner, 1823-1854, rector of St. Andrew's, Simsbury and Bloomfield, St. Peter's, Granby, St. John's, East Windsor, Connecticut. Also additional records, 1777-1778, of Rev. Roger Viets, rector of St. Andrew's, Simsbury. Hartford, 1923. [4], 42 p. 23 cm. "100 copies printed, no. ."

"The Work of Hartford's First Printer." Cambridge [Massachusetts] [Printed at the *Harvard University Press*] 1925. 1 p., 1., p. [345]-361. 24½ cm. "Reprinted from *Bibliographical Essays; a tribute to Wilberforce Eames.*" "List of Thomas Green's Hartford Imprints, 1764-1768:" p. 348-361.

Sketch of the Congregational Society and Church of East Granby, Connecticut, . . . Hartford, 1930. 18 p. pl., fold. map, fold. plan. 23 cm.

Connecticut (Colony) Charters . . . The Charter of Connecticut, 1662. [New Haven] Published for the Tercentenary Commission by the Yale University Press, 1933. 22 p. 1 *l.* 23 cm. At head of cover-title: Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut. Committee on Historical Publications. [Publication no. 3] With notes by A. C. Bates and C. M. Andrews.

"Some Notes on Early Connecticut Printing." Meriden. 1934. 17 p. front. (Reprinted from: *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* vol. 27, pt. 1) 21 cm.

Connecticut (Colony) Constitution, 1638-39 . . . The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut. [New Haven] Published for the Tercentenary Commission by the Yale University Press, 1934. Cover-title, 9, [2] p. facsims. 23 cm. At head of title: Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut. Committee on Historical Publications. [Publication no. 20] Preface signed: George M. Dutcher. "The . . .translation of the fundamental orders has been made by Albert Carlos Bates."—p. 9.

"Were the Fundamental Orders a Constitution?" (In *Connecticut Bar Journal,* vol. 10, No. 1) January 1936, p. 43-50. 23 cm.

"Connecticut's Engraved Bills of Credit, 1709-1746" . . . Worcester, Massachusetts, Published by the Society, 1937. 26 p. 25 cm. At head of title: *American Antiquarian* Society. "Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1936."

Supplementary List of Books Printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800. [Hartford] The Acorn Club, 1938. 2 p. 1., [VII]-VIII, 91, [1] p. 28½ cm. [Acorn Club of Connecticut, Seventeenth Publication] "One hundred and two copies printed. no. ."

"Expedition of Sir Edmond Andros to Connecticut in 1687" . . . Worcester, Massachusetts. Published by the [American Antiquarian] Society, 1939. 26 p. 25 cm. At head of title-page: American Antiquarian Society. "Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1938."

500 Years of Printing, 1440-1940. An exhibition at the Connecticut State Library in Hartford under the auspices of the Committee for the Celebration of the 500th Anniversary of Printing, November 3-December 5, 1940. Catalogue . . . Hartford Connecticut State Library. Printed by Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1940. 24 cm. illus. [68] pp. With preface by Albert C. Bates.

Narrative of Joshua Gee of Boston, Massachusetts. While he was captive in Algeria of the Barbary pirates, 1680-1687. Hartford [Wadsworth Atheneum] 1943. 22½ cm. 30 pp. [Wadsworth Atheneum] Marine Room. Publication no. 1

Ancestral Line for Eight Generations of Capt. Lemuel Bates, 1729-1820, with some records of his descendants. Hartford, 1943. 68 p. 24½ cm. "Fifty copies printed."

"Parts of an Almanack" . . . Worcester, Massachusetts. [Davis Press], 1943. 9 p. 25 cm. "Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1942."

Four Connecticut Wood Engravings. Cleveland, The Hyacinth Press, 1943. 1 p., 1., 4 pl., 1 *l.* 22 cm. On cover: A nosegay of Connecticut wood engravings. Descriptive letterpress at the foot of each plate. "Twenty-five copies have been handset and printed . . . from the original wood blocks in the possession of Albert C. Bates. Copy no. ."

Captain Enoch Powers and his Wife Sophia Teresa Collins, with notes on their descendants. A grandson's tribute. Hartford, 1945. 28 p. 22 cm.

"Early Connecticut Laws." Separate from the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. 1946. 23 cm. 8 pp.

Second Supplementary List of Books Printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800. [Hartford] Acorn Club, 1947. vi, 11, [4] p. 28 cm. ([Acorn Club of Connecticut] Publication 18) "One hundred and two copies printed. no. ."

Sundry Vital Records of and Pertaining to the Present Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1737-1886 . . . Hartford, 1947. XII, 236 p. 25 cm. (Turkey Hills Series, no. 4.)

Historical Sketch of Turkey Hills and East Granby, Connecticut. Hartford 1949. 46 p. 26 cm. "Read before the Turkey Hills Study Club, March, 1949."

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News of the Society

Despite the fact that February is the shortest month of the year and contains two holidays, it was one of the busiest months at the Society. Fourteen meetings of various clubs and societies were held in our building, plus our own regular meeting, and the Antique Furniture Seminar. Included among these groups were The Hartford College Lecture Series, The Quota Club, Connecticut Horticultural Society, Ruth Wyllys Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Charter Oak Color Slide Club, Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America, Numismatic Society, Gladiolus Society, and the Hartford Bird Study Club.

We were particularly delighted to find that a caterer could serve about thirty-five luncheons in the first floor exhibition room without interfering with normal functions. Five folding tables have been secured which can be put to good use in this manner. In January the Jeremiah Wadsworth branch of the Sons of the American Revolution held a dinner. Again we were pleased to find that up to fifty can be comfortably accommodated in the Reading Room. It is hoped activity such as this will increase in future months. We now have the physical equipment, and there are several caterers available for those interested.

Samuel Huntington

A Leader of Revolutionary Connecticut

By Albert E. VanDusen*

One of the least known and most neglected of the Revolutionary leaders of Connecticut is Samuel Huntington. Any serious study of Huntington's career quickly reveals how ill-deserved is his obscurity. His career, if viewed simply in terms of a bare listing of the highlights—signer of the Declaration of Independence, long-time member of the Council in Connecticut's General Assembly, key figure in the Revolutionary Council of Safety, judge of the Connecticut Superior Court, President of the Continental Congress, and Governor of Connecticut for nearly a decade—assumes impressive proportions.

Samuel Huntington was born in Scotland Society of the town of Windham, Connecticut on July 3, 1731. He was the second son to arrive in the large family of seven sons and three daughters born to Nathaniel and Mehitabel (Thurston) Huntington. Young Samuel represented the fifth generation of Huntingtons in New England. His great-great-grandparents, Simon and Margaret (Baret) Huntington had migrated to New England in 1633, probably from the East Anglian town of Norwich. By and large, the Huntingtons had succeeded in establishing themselves happily and comfortably in New England. Samuel's father, Nathaniel, by the economic standards of the times, ranked as a fairly prosperous farmer and clothier who appears to have taken a prominent part in local affairs. When a new ecclesiastical society was to be set up in Scotland in 1732, the organizational meeting took place at his home. Nathaniel presented to the Society the land upon which the church was to be built. The congregation meanwhile worshipped at his home until the new church edifice was completed.[1]

It is obvious that young Samuel, growing up in a family of moderate affluence and solid position in the community, never experienced poverty; but he did have ample opportunity in a family of twelve persons to learn well the constant adjustment and mutual sacrifice essential in so large a family circle.

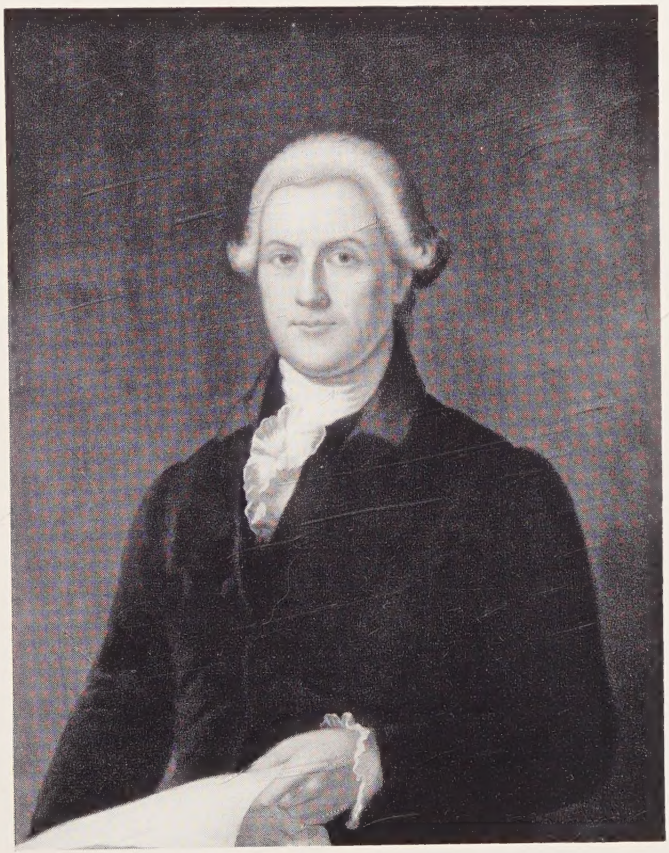
What was perhaps the unhappiest moment of Samuel's youth occurred in 1742 when he was eleven. One summer morning that year the Huntington household was gripped with excitement. The oldest son, Nathaniel, clad in fine linen, was departing for Yale. There must have been tears in Samuel's eyes because a year earlier he had been promised by his father as an apprentice to a local cooper. College was not to be in his future.

A short time after Nathaniel's departure his father went out to his shop to see how Samuel was progressing in braking flax. He found the boy, stripped to the waist, passing his homespun shirt through the brake. "What

*Albert E. VanDusen, a graduate of Wesleyan University, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1948. His dissertation was entitled: "The Trade of Revolutionary Connecticut." He has taught at Duke and Wesleyan Universities, and since 1949 has been Assistant Professor of History, University of Connecticut. In 1952 he was appointed Connecticut State Historian, edited Volume IX, *Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, and is Chairman of the Publication Committee of the Society.

are you doing there, Samuel?" the father asked. "Trying to make my shirt as soft as my brother's," he replied. It is easy to understand Samuel's bitterness as his father could have afforded to send him to college. Also, the next few years must have been particularly frustrating to Samuel, who, while he toiled through his apprenticeship and self-education in law, watched three of his brothers obtain a college education. The father apparently believed that a part of his sons should be trained to earn a living in the more typical pursuits of the times.[2]

Fortunately, Samuel soon discovered stimulating diversion for some of his leisure time. He found a staunch friend in the local Congregational minister, Ebenezer Devotion, who detected promising intellectual proclivities in the boy, and encouraged them. For seven years Samuel read widely in



Oil on Canvas Portrait, Connecticut State Library
Samuel Huntington (1731-1796)

the clergyman's excellent library which contained many of the classics of English and Latin literature.[3]

At the end of the seven years, at last free of his apprenticeship, Samuel decided to study law. Again help was close at hand. Two eminent local lawyers, Jedediah Elderkin and Eliphalet Dyer, loaned him the necessary law books. After several years of study, he was admitted to the bar in 1754, and launched his practice in Windham.[4]

Huntington did not remain there long, however, as greater opportunities beckoned from the larger and wealthier neighboring town of Norwich. He moved there in 1760, at the age of twenty-nine, and considered it his home for the remainder of his life. Norwich, on the Thames River at the head of navigation for ocean-going vessels, was a very active trading center with a fairly prosperous hinterland from which to draw surplus produce. From the town, ships sailed frequently not only to American coastal ports but also to the West Indies.[5]

On April 17, 1761, about one year after his move to Norwich, Huntington and Martha Devotion, daughter of Ebenezer Devotion, were married. Since Huntington, as a lad, had spent many long hours reading and visiting in the Devotion home one may assume that a long childhood friendship preceded the more serious business of courtship and marriage. Very little authentic information about Martha Devotion is extant. Her father, the local clergyman for many years, held a position of great honor and respect in the town. He staunchly upheld the orthodox (Old Light) Congregationalist viewpoint. In all probability he and Mrs. Devotion gave Martha and the other children a very strict moral and practical home training. It is known too that the Scotland parsonage served as one of the town's chief centers of social life. As Mrs. Huntington she is described as an attractive, friendly, person of simple manners, "a lady without any pretensions to style or fashion, but amiable and discreet." There is every indication that the marriage proved to be highly successful; for Mrs. Huntington shared fully in her husband's triumphs and failures. They never had any children of their own, but in later years adopted a nephew and niece, Samuel and Fanny Huntington, the two children of the Reverend Joseph Huntington. Their home in Norwich was the scene of many parties, and the young people liked to congregate there. Sometimes they danced, but promptly at nine P.M. all festivities stopped.[6]

During the decade and a half preceding the American Revolution Huntington devoted himself chiefly to his law work, where he enjoyed a great measure of success and recognition. Most of his cases were local ones, but he took some as far away as Newport and Boston.[7]

Despite his apparent preoccupation with legal practice, in the 1760's he began to participate in a small way in local and colonial politics. At the local level he first appears as one of a large group of signers to a petition which requested the General Assembly to establish a lottery to deepen the Quinebaug River above Norwich.[8] His initial experience in the broader field of colonial politics came in 1764 when he was elected by Norwich to the Lower House of the General Assembly, although he seems to have sat in the May 1765 session only.[9]

In common with many of his fellow citizens in Connecticut, Huntington reacted strongly to the Stamp Act of 1765. The British enactment precipitated a very hot internal battle which completely upset the usual well-

mannered political decorum of Connecticut politics. As a result of this conflict, Governor Thomas Fitch, who counselled obedience to the Act, was defeated at the next election (1766), and replaced by William Pitkin.[10] Huntington was one of thirty-six signers of a strongly-worded petition to the October 1765 General Assembly. It stated that the recent Parliamentary Stamp Act would "inevitably Subject this and Other Colonies to insupportable Burdens and Likely End in the Ruin of the Colonies." Yet without stamped papers, trade would be interrupted or stopped. The petitioners, therefore, asked the General Assembly to consider these troublesome matters "and prevent the declining Trade of the Colony from a Total Stagnation in Such ways and by Such Means as their Great Wisdom Shall Direct."[11]

Norwich leaders, including Huntington, obviously were much worried about the possibility of a reduction in Norwich's prosperous foreign and intercolonial trade. Yet at a town meeting the same year, the citizens voted that the town clerk should ignore the stamps and carry on as usual; and the town would "save him harmless from all damage that he may sustain thereby." Some of the more excitable inhabitants of the town exhibited their dislike of the Stamp Act by hanging in effigy Jared Ingersoll, recently appointed as a stamp-tax collector. Several years later Norwich became one of the first towns in the Colony to protest vigorously against the Coercive Acts. Huntington, therefore, saw and heard much local political agitation in the decade preceding the Revolution.[12]

During these years of growing tensions Huntington still devoted himself largely to his law practice, which was thriving. He also usually had two or three students living and studying at his home. In 1765 he was appointed justice of the peace. The same year he became King's Attorney which he remained until the growing difficulties with the Mother Country caused him to resign.[13]

As the years passed fellow-citizens began to call more often upon Huntington for help in a variety of projects. These ranged from such minor matters as a generous contribution for a fire engine in Norwich to difficult assignments as special town agent before the General Assembly. On September 12, 1769, for instance, the town appointed him special agent to request the General Assembly to grant Norwich citizens twenty-miles square of "Colony Lands west of and adjoyning to the Susquehannah purchas."[14] Apparently land hunger was as virulent a disease in Norwich as in numerous contemporary New England towns!

For several years Huntington played an important role in a local project involving a larger and better bridge at the Cove in Norwich. In May 1770 the town chose him as agent to present a petition to the legislature to set up a lottery for the bridge. The legislators reacted with a prompt refusal to support the proposal. The town was not discouraged, however, and the following year, an enlarged committee of five, including Huntington, once more offered the petition. This time the General Assembly saw fit to grant the petition. After a considerable interval had passed and insufficient money had been collected, the committee prevailed upon the General Assembly to enlarge the lottery to permit the raising of a substantial additional amount.[15]

Huntington's emergence as a significant leader in the public affairs of Connecticut came slightly before the outbreak of the American Revolution, and not as a result of that struggle. One may pinpoint as the outward sign

of Huntington's arrival in the top echelon his appointment by the legislature in May 1773 as a judge of the Superior Court. He was reelected to this post annually until he became the Chief Justice in 1784. In the fall of 1773 the judges, Matthew Griswold, Roger Sherman, William Pitkin, and Huntington represented to the legislature that "the Reward, appointed for the Service" was highly inadequate. The schedule of sessions broke up the year so completely that they could do little else to earn a living; and the salaries had been fixed at an earlier period of lower prices. They concluded with a request for a salary equal to the "Necessary Expences of a Prudent Common Family." Both houses of the legislature promptly rejected the polite demand.[16]

Meanwhile a move developed among the inner circle of the colonial politicos, the "Standing Order," to place Huntington in the Upper House. He was nominated for the first time at the October 1773 session, but failed of election the following spring.[17] The next fall he again received nomination, and in the spring of 1775 he succeeded in getting elected.[18] Huntington proved to be a good "vote-getter" almost from the start. In the nominating vote in the fall of 1775, the first opportunity of Connecticut's limited electorate to pass upon his record, he polled 3887 votes, fourth highest among forty-five candidates.[19] Henceforth he rated very well with the Connecticut electorate until his death in 1796.

The year 1774 brought with it a deepening crisis in the relations of England and her American colonies, marked by passage of the Coercive or "Intolerable" Acts which bore hard upon Massachusetts. In May the Boston Committee of Correspondence sent out a circular which called for cooperation against the oppressive laws of England. Late the same month the Norwich Sons of Liberty literally added fuel to the growing flames. Before an appreciative audience of nearly a thousand persons they erected a liberty pole some forty-five feet high. Then the Boston Port Act was read in full and enthusiastically consigned to the middle of a large fire. The program ended with the adoption of a set of resolutions which violently castigated the British Ministry and its Boston Port Act.[20]

A little later, on June 6, a special town meeting was convened to consider Boston's plight; and so great was the attendance that the assemblage adjourned to a larger meeting house. The meeting chose nine prominent citizens, including Huntington, to draft a statement of local sentiment "in this alarming Crisis." Out of the committee's deliberations emerged this declaration, quickly approved by the townspeople:

> "That we will to the utmost of our abilities assert and Defend the Liberties and Immunities of British America; and that we will Cooperate with our Bretheren in this and the other Colonies in Such Reasonable Measures as Shall in General Congress, or otherwise be Judged most proper to Releive us from Burthens we now feel and Secure us from greater Evils we fear will follow from the Principles adopted by the British Parliament Respecting the Town of Boston."[21]

During this period there occurred in Norwich an episode which reflected some facets of general public opinion as well as that of Huntington. Francis Green, a Boston Tory and signer of the address of loyalty to Massachusetts' Governor Hutchinson, set out on a debt-collecting trip through Eastern Connecticut. His Tory reputation caused him much trouble in Windham, but he soon found Norwich even more inhospitable. Arriving in Norwich

about seven a.m. on the morning of July 6, 1774, Green went to the home of Samuel Huntington whom he seemed to know personally. Almost immediately after admittance he heard the ringing of bells and the noise of many running feet. Soon Joshua Huntington appeared and told him that he must depart from Norwich within fifteen minutes. Green immediately called upon Samuel Huntington, as a magistrate, to protect him. Huntington refused to do so. Green then proceeded to the nearby tavern in the hope of finding a more friendly reception; but a mob quickly gathered outside. There were angry shouts of "Out with him! Out with him!" A few, spying a small empty cart standing close by, shrieked "Into the Cart! Into the Cart!" Finally the crowd almost literally pushed Green out of the tavern and into a carriage and somebody struck the horses, whereupon the carriage began moving. The hurried departure may best be described in Green's own words: "Upon which They set up a loud shout of Huzza, beat their Drum and following near half a Mile, pelted me with great Rage & Violence & thus obstructed me in my Business, to my great Injury, & endanger'd my Life."[22]

The radical fever persisted in the Norwich area, and generally throughout eastern Connecticut. Early in September Norwich was the scene of a meeting of representatives from towns in New London and Windham counties. They recommended that the town and provincial governments take steps to hasten military preparedness.[23] At a town meeting some six months later, just before the outbreak of hostilities, Norwich town meeting voted that the selectmen and committee of inspection carefully screen all persons coming to Norwich from Boston in order to keep out those "inimical to the common cause of America."[24]

With the outbreak of actual fighting in the spring of 1775 the General Assembly devoted much time to the defense problem. A special committee, composed of eight members from the Lower House and one, Samuel Huntington, from the Upper House, was organized to examine the harbor and coastal defenses and report on the measures desirable. This committee brought in a full report with specific recommendations for the defense of such towns as Stonington, New London, Saybrook, New Haven, Milford, and Fairfield.[25]

Of greater importance, however, was Huntington's inclusion in the special committee appointed to meet with and to assist the Governor with pressing daily problems likely to arise between sittings of the Assembly. Named along with Samuel Huntington were Mathew Griswold, Eliphalet Dyer, Jabez Huntington, William Williams, Nathaniel Wales, Jr., Jedidiah Elderkin, Joshua West, and Benjamin Huntington.[26] This special committee, commonly known as the Council of Safety, found itself with a seemingly endless series of large and small problems which required frequent meetings, usually held at Lebanon. For several periods during the war Huntington played an important role in these meetings.

At the first recorded meeting, on July 13, 1775, Huntington and William Williams of Lebanon were requested to tackle a very unpleasant assignment —that of placating the injured feelings of General Joseph Spencer of East Haddam who was furious at the Continental Congress' action in elevating General Putnam over him to a higher rank, and threatened therefore to retire from the army. Huntington and Williams must have been very persuasive as later the same day General Spencer appeared at the Council meet-

ing. Despite continuing resentment he agreed "to return to the army and not at present quit the service as he proposed." A variety of problems occupied the time of the Council of Safety in its fifteen sessions from July to October of 1775; and Huntington attended ten of these meetings.[27]

At the October session in 1775 the General Assembly elected Huntington, Roger Sherman, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, and William Williams as delegates to the Continental Congress. Before Huntington left for Philadelphia he attended four meetings of the Council of Safety in November and December, and the special session of the General Assembly at New Haven on December 14.[28] He was one of three to whom a particularly disagreeable affair was referred, namely, the mutiny of the sailors on Connecticut's brigantine, the *Minerva*. Deputy-Governor Griswold, and Samuel and Benjamin Huntington were sent down to Lyme to interview Captain Giles Hall of the ill-starred vessel and to ascertain what should be done next. As a result of their investigation the General Assembly in December voted to remove the guns and stores from the *Minerva* and return the ship to its owner at Rocky Hill.[29]

As Huntington journeyed to Philadelphia in January, 1776, he was breaking away for the first time from the provincial life and problems of his native Connecticut, and was emerging upon the broader scene of intercolonial affairs. After an annoying and rough trip Huntington and his fellow-delegate and good friend Oliver Wolcott, arrived at Philadelphia on January 15. They took up lodgings at the quiet home of a Mr. Duncan on Third Street. Roger Sherman, the other Connecticut delegate, had made the arrangements and planned also to stay at Mr. Duncan's.[30]

Huntington served for nearly ten months and received a thorough initiation into the many complexities and vexations of life in the Continental Congress.[31] In this period he was made a member of two standing committees: (1) the Navy or Marine (appointed March 6), and (2) the War and Ordnance (appointed September 3). He also served on several special committees from time to time. Of his committee assignments that upon the Marine Committee undoubtedly ranked among the most significant. That group concerned itself with such matters as appointment of naval officers and the fitting out of armed vessels. The committee handled large sums of money and exerted an important influence. Huntington returned to this committee in June 1779.[32]

Other special committees to which Huntington belonged dealt with a wide variety of problems such as wages of South Carolina seamen, contracts for muskets, disposition of cargoes of several seized ships, means of increasing powder production, the exchange of seamen, a defrauded prisoner's plight, the post office, carriages for public use, the treatment of negroes seized from enemy, policies on prizes, and Indian affairs.[33]

Huntington was present during the crucial debate on the wisdom of declaring independence. Unfortunately no specific expressions of his opinion have come to light. One writer declares that Huntington for a long time prior to July 1776 had been unwillingly but positively convinced of the necessity of breaking away from the Mother Country.[34] When it came to the showdown, he gladly joined that famous company who risked their lives and fortunes by signing the Declaration of Independence.

Huntington's newness on the scene, added to his innate reserve, caused

Recent photograph of the Nathaniel Huntington House, Scotland

him to take a minor part in debates on the floor of Congress. On August 2, 1776, a debate arose on the issue of delimiting the boundaries of states which by charter extended to the "South Sea" (Pacific Ocean). After sharp attacks had been made against the claims of several states, especially those of Virginia, Huntington felt impelled to speak:

> "Admit there is danger from Virginia, does it follow that Congress has a right to limit her bounds? The consequence is, not to enter into confederation. But as to the question of right, we all unite against mutilating charters. I can't agree to the principle. We are a spectacle to all Europe. I am not so much alarmed at the danger from Virginia as some are; my fears are not alarmed; they have acted as noble a part as any. I doubt not the wisdom of Virginia will limit themselves. A man's right does not cease to be a right, because it is large; the question of right must be determined by the principles of the common law."[35]

Occasional letters from Huntington to friends and officials in Connecticut reflected something of the events occurring at Philadelphia as well as personal concerns. In August he evinced great concern over the military situation in the North, and expressed pleasure that troops were coming from Connecticut although his state had "gone so far beyond her proportion."[36] A little earlier Huntington had written Nathaniel Shaw, a substantial New London merchant, to inform him that he had been appointed a Continental commercial agent "being the most Suitable person I could think of."[37]

Huntington reported approvingly on the projected negotiations with Lord Howe which he thought might help to clarify the situation as to whether Howe was merely attempting "a finesse," or had sincerely peaceful intentions.[38]

The fast pace of life in Philadelphia did not seem to agree with Hunting-

ton's health, for William Williams noted in early November that Huntington had "gone home unwell."[39]

As a result of his successful ten months of service in the Continental Congress, Huntington had taken stature as one of the "elder statesmen," so to speak, of Revolutionary Connecticut. Admittedly the process may well have been hastened by the prominence of the Huntington family in Connecticut politics. The remainder of his life was largely devoted to the demands of public service. Scarcely had he settled down at home after the long tiring Congressional term in Philadelphia than he was caught up again in the whirl of Connecticut politics. Less than a week later he rode over to Lebanon for two days at the Governor's Council of Safety. Five days later he was in Hartford for a special session of the General Assembly which passed laws to prevent excessive prices and hoarding of necessities, laid an embargo, appointed many officers, and took other steps to speed the war effort.[40]

Huntington at this session served on at least one joint committee with the Lower House, that which considered the unpaid wages and allowances of two regiments of Connecticut troops discharged from the Continental Army. After deliberation the joint committee requested the Governor to transmit a statement to the Connecticut delegates in Congress asking for information on pay scales and related issues.[41]

At the next special session in Middletown on December 18, 1776, Huntington was even busier. He represented the Upper House upon at least three joint committees dealing with: (1) stores and medicines at Stamford; (2) the new freeman's oath; and (3) the prohibition of distilling.[42] In the last matter the two houses approved bills forbidding distilling of spirituous liquors which differed in detail. The joint committee worked out a compromise by which distilling of any kind of grain was prohibited until May except for "such grain as is already so far in the works as to render the same unfit for bread . . ." At the conclusion of this session Huntington returned home and took a well-merited rest from public affairs until the regular meeting of the legislature in May 1777.[43]

When the General Assembly convened, the members were in a grim mood. In April the British under General Tryon accomplished a destructive raid upon Danbury and other points, and among the Connecticut men slain, had been the prominent General David Wooster. Huntington soon found himself engaged in working out one of the key acts of the session, a revision of the price-control act. Strong differences of opinion developed in joint committee, and Huntington staunchly upheld the viewpoint of the Assistants. Eventually a solution was reached which provided for maximum prices on pork, West India and New England rum, sugar, cheese, leather shoes, salt pork, tow cloth, rye, wheat, flour, and molasses.[44]

At this session Huntington also became involved in the seemingly baffling problem of filling the State's quota in the Continental Army. As was so often the case, the two houses came up with differing versions; and Huntington, along with Elisha Sheldon and William Williams, was appointed to negotiate with six members chosen from the Lower House. From their labors emerged a more satisfactory bill "for raising and compleating the Quota of the Continental Army to be raised in this State" which met approval of both houses. Apparently Huntington was considered to have a penchant for military matters as he likewise was placed on the joint committee to seek

agreement on an act regulating the State militia.[45]

During the summer of 1777 there was little leisure for Huntington. The State of Massachusetts issued an invitation for an interstate convention at Springfield to discuss paper money, hoarding and embargoes. Governor Trumbull and the Council of Safety appointed Roger Sherman, Titus Hosmer, and Huntington to represent Connecticut. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and New York were other states represented; and the delegates spent about a week wrestling with the complex economic problems of the day. Since the Convention possessed no legislative power, it had to content itself with forwarding a set of resolutions to the individual states. The body noted that only the four New England states had enacted laws to prevent monopoly and protect the currency and that the failure of the other states to act largely nullified the efforts of the New Englanders.[46] From the convention discussions Huntington undoubtedly gained a deeper appreciation of the critical financial and related economic problems which plagued all of the states.

Huntington scarcely had returned home from Springfield when the time came to journey to Hartford for the special session called by Governor Trumbull to meet August 13, 1777 for consideration of pressing military problems. As it turned out, Huntington played a leading role in effecting an agreement upon one of the chief measures enacted. The Continental Army in the North as usual desperately needed additional troops. The Lower House resolved to call out 2000 men from the militia. The Assistants changed this to one battalion of 728 men. To resolve the differences the Lower House appointed four members and the Upper House, Huntington (alone). The committee worked out a compromise calling for two battalions of 728 men each. Obviously Huntington had made the larger concession, but he had realized quickly that the logic of events lay with the Lower House. The quick concurrence of the Upper House in the amended version bears out this belief.[47]

Huntington's chances for a peaceful life at home were soon shattered by his election in October as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Before he departed he had an opportunity to take a hand in the affairs of Yale—the college to which he had not been permitted to go as a student. The General Assembly appointed a special committee to meet with the Yale Corporation for further consideration of its problems. This committee, with some changes in personnel, finally did meet the Corporation in the winter, studied a detailed plan drawn up by Ezra Stiles, debated it, and failed to reach an agreement. The group, however, did call Stiles from Portsmouth to become the new President.[48]

At the end of January 1778 Huntington journeyed to York, Pennsylvania where Congress had moved after the British occupation of Philadelphia. He soon was busy with routine affairs of the body. Many delegates had expected that Congress, free from the distractions of Philadelphia, would conduct its business more expeditiously. This proved to be a vain hope. Titus Hosmer of Middletown, Huntington's fellow-delegate, wrote to Governor Trumbull in scathing denunciation of the "idleness and captiousness of some gentlemen." Perhaps largely because of the prevalence of such behavior a group of sixteen members, including Huntington, signed a pledge to meet punctually, restrict their speeches to a maximum of ten minutes, not to speak more than twice, and to unite in preserving order and courtesy.[49]

The session at York was a turbulent one in which the issue of half-pay for life for Continental officers particularly stirred up tempers. For seven weeks "a most disagreable and serious debate" continued upon the problem. Huntington apparently took an active part in the debate, and upon one occasion strongly objected to a motion as being out of order. His objection produced immediate support from many members including the President.[50] The Connecticut delegates described the issue as "the most painfull and disagreeable question that hath ever been agitated in Congress." They were united in spirited opposition to the plan as were delegates from several other states. Eventually Congress compromised on half-pay for seven years, a plan which the Connecticut delegation supported as "the best that could be obtained."[51]

Foreign affairs also received much attention from Congress. There were recurrent moves concerning peace negotiations with Great Britain, in which Huntington played a small part,[52] and, in general, much interest existed in Franklin's mission to Paris. No documentary evidence has been uncovered concerning Huntington's reaction to the French Alliance, but one can safely assume that he shared in the great enthusiasm felt by Congress and the American people.

At this session Huntington got involved in a perennial problem—that of the future of Vermont. Governor Clinton of New York wrote a letter to Congress in April and complained about the actions of the Vermonters. This letter was referred to a committee with Huntington as chairman. The committee in its report in July reacted unfavorably to the ambitious claims of the Vermonters; and, in fact, stated explicitly that no new states should be formed without the consent of the states in which they were located and without the "approbation of Congress."[53] The question remained so complicated and controversial, however, that the solution lay far in the future.

Early in July 1778 Huntington returned home to his neglected personal affairs.[54] His popularity with the voters of Connecticut remained high as the nominating polls for Assistants in October gave him 2844 votes—the second highest total among the thirty-seven candidates.[55] Although freed from his Continental responsibilities, Huntington continued to maintain a lively interest in broad American issues. Later that fall, for example, he wrote to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, that Connecticut citizens were awaiting hopefully news of efficacious measures "relative to our medium," and were confident that Congress would act quickly,[56] a forlorn hope as the runaway depreciation of Continental money soon revealed.

Before his return to Congress Huntington attended two sessions of the General Assembly, in January and April, 1779. Again he found himself upon joint committees struggling with knotty problems. One of the most distressing involved a group of Connecticut officers who described in vivid terms the sharp sufferings of their families and strongly demanded immediate aid for these unhappy dependents and adequate relief from currency depreciation. As a result of the committee's study, the legislature voted supplementary wages to all Connecticut officers and men in the Connecticut Line.[57]

At the April session Huntington headed a committee to study the pay of officers and seamen in the State Navy. The committee recommended a new pay scale with a range from six and two-thirds to forty-eight dollars monthly depending upon rank. In ships of less than twenty guns the men were to

share in one-half the proceeds from all enemy vessels, and individual shares would be determined by rank.[58] As in other states, it was difficult to recruit and maintain a state navy when privateering seemed to offer much greater pecuniary rewards.

When Huntington set out for Philadelphia in the spring of 1779, undoubtedly he expected to be home by the fall at the latest. Little did he suspect that some 800 days of service lay before him!

After Huntington reached the seat of Congress he soon discovered that procuring adequate supplies for the Continental Army constituted one of the most critical problems facing the country. Late in the spring Jeremiah Wadsworth, Commissary-General, in a discouraged mood, was on the point of resigning. Huntington, taking advantage of his personal friendship with Wadsworth, urged him to continue: "[I] am very sorry you think of quitting your department so soon the Risque is so great in appointing a new person to the Office which must be attended with most serious consequences if he proves unequal to the business."[59] Wadsworth in any event did remain in office a few months longer.

At this session there arrived news of Tryon's destructive raid upon the Connecticut coast. Despite these depredations Huntington voted "no" upon a resolve that the "marine committee be, and are hereby directed to take the most effectual means to carry into execution the manifesto of Oct. 30, 1778 by burning and destroying the towns belonging to the enemy in Great Britain and the West Indies."[60] The resolve passed by a small margin. Huntington's vote was very typical, as he rarely expressed feelings of revenge even under great provocation.

In the summer Huntington exhibited much concern over the accelerating depreciation of Continental currency. Early in July when writing to Oliver Wolcott, he noted the latest Congressional actions, and commented: "in my Opinion the most Essential thing for giving any Stability to the Currency is to stop the press."[61] Unfortunately it also was the most difficult thing to do!

At this session once more Huntington took his place upon various committees. Probably the most important was that to prepare instructions for the American ministers to a future peace conference. A group of five, Gouverneur Morris, Henry Laurens, John Dickinson, Thomas McKean, and Huntington, labored long upon this problem. Huntington ardently hoped for peace, so that undoubtedly he worked with enthusiasm upon this cause.[62]

Late in the summer of 1779 Huntington's legal talents came into play. The need for establishment of a supreme court of appeals in maritime cases had become obvious from earlier experiences. Congress, therefore, on August 26 appointed a committee of three to work out a plan for a maritime appeals court. Huntington acted as chairman, and William Paca and John Dickinson assisted him. The committee's report, filed on October 29, called for creation of four districts, each with a supreme court of appeals, and set forth the powers and jurisdiction of the new courts. After much discussion and revision of the report Congress by act of January 15, 1780 established a court of appeals for admiralty cases to consist of three judges appointed by Congress.[63] The court played a significant role in the next few years.

Probably the most important motion made at this session by Huntington was that of September 10 concerning the future rights of France to Florida. This lengthy resolution stated that if Spain joined the alliance against Great

Britain it should not be prevented from securing Florida. If Spain obtained Florida, the United States would guarantee it provided that "his Catholic Majesty" should grant us free navigation of the Mississippi and a free port. The monarch, also, was to make us a loan and provide an annual subsidy. Congress debated the issue and then postponed final action until September 17. The final resolution, while less sweeping in its demands, still called for navigational and port rights and a loan of $5,000,000.[64]

Even at this session Huntington could not seem to stay clear of the ticklish Vermont problem as he was appointed to a special five-man committee to make recommendations. Before the committee's report received attention, general public and congressional feeling upon the subject had become so heated that the committee was discharged. Congress contented itself with a new appeal to the three states concerned to work out the problems.[65]

Early September brought to Huntington an honor which he must have deeply cherished. Yale College at its Commencement on September 8 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts,[66] which he apparently received *in absentia* because of his necessary presence in Congress.

After a long summer filled with tiresome debates upon difficult problems Huntington strongly desired to go home. Congress had just passed a resolution to stop the emission of paper money, which pleased Huntington very much. He felt that it was a suitable time for him to be relieved and permitted to take care of his personal affairs.[67] Only nineteen days after Huntington penned his request for relief Congress utterly upset his plans by electing him President! His predecessor was John Jay who had held the office since December 10, 1778. Jay's appointment as minister to Spain necessitated his resignation as President and paved the way for the election of Huntington.[68]

The office of President of the Continental Congress constitutionally signified little more than that of a presiding officer who did not possess any important executive or administrative powers. He did enjoy a certain amount of diplomatic and social prestige;[69] but undoubtedly he paid well for this honor by the constant vexations involved in presiding over an often fractious and unruly Congress.

The new President discovered almost immediately that one of his chief duties was that of writing letters. On the very day of his election, September 9, he wrote the first two letters, to Lord Stirling and Major Henry Lee respectively; and, as directed in an earlier Congressional resolve, he expressed the thanks of Congress for their audacious military services. These were only the beginning of a steady stream of letters to many persons upon a wide variety of topics. Often a sort of form letter, known as a "circular letter," would go out to each of the states, or to a group of states, especially when an important resolution of Congress was enclosed.[70]

After two months of service as President, Huntington reported in rather optimistic tenor to his friend Oliver Wolcott:

> "I have the pleasure to inform you that as great harmony and concord Subsists in Congress as ever I knew or can be expected in such a body, however by a refind practice we use a little too much Scripture language for my taste i e our language is too too-much ay and no, but tis a Custom some are fond of as being usefull in their opinion. I hope the Wisdom of Congress and of the Several States will lead to such Measures the

ensuing winter that we may be prepared for peace or war as events may be: but I most Sincerely wish the former."[71]

When Huntington realized that he might be delayed in Philadelphia for many months, he made arrangements for Mrs. Huntington to join him in the city. On November 13 he wrote Jeremiah Wadsworth that he had sent the post rider Mr. Brown with a carriage to wait upon Mrs. Huntington and desired that Wadsworth aid Brown in any way likely to facilitate her journey.[72] Apparently in mid-December Mrs. Huntington started her trip in dignified style as the *Norwich Packet* reported: "On Wednesday last set off from this place, for the city of Philadelphia, the lady of Samuel Huntington, Esq; President of Congress: She was escorted out of town by a number of gentlemen and ladies of the first character."[73]

At the time of Jay's election as President, Congress had voted to provide the President with a house, food, a carriage and servants. Other perquisites included a steward to oversee the household and submit accounts to Congress.[74] Even as President, however, Huntington fared poorly financially. Early in January 1780 he was forced to write Governor Trumbull for $2000 owed him by the State. He noted that:

> "the profits of my own Estate which under my own Industry used to afford me all necessary Supplies, hath been so long neglected by me that I am unable to discharge the necessary Expenses encured, and in my present Situation I am unwilling to request any Advancement from the Continental Treasury, which would be rather out of Character."[75]

Fortunately Connecticut's General Assembly at its January session lost little time in voting $2000 for Huntington. Late the same year Huntington again was pinched for funds, and wrote Treasurer John Lawrence of Connecticut to request the prompt forwarding of £100 in hard money. He declared bluntly:

> "Be assured, Sir, I should not make this request if I could with decency or comfort subsist without the money. . . . I hope this request may be granted as I have never yet receiv'd for my services a sum equal to pay my necessary expences while attending in Congress. . . ."[76]

President and Mrs. Huntington retained to a surprising degree their usual simple style of living. When the Marquis de Chastellux and the French Ambassador, Luzerne, called upon the President in December 1780, they found him in his room "lighted by a single candle." Upon another occasion the Marquis and several other Frenchmen dined with the Huntingtons. The Marquis described Mrs. Huntington as "a stout, rather good-looking woman approaching middle age [who] did the honors of the table, that is to say, helped everybody, without saying a word."[77] Mrs. Huntington's silence may well have been caused chiefly by ignorance of the French language. Occasional gay receptions and parties punctuated the otherwise simple regime of the Huntingtons. Such an event was the party given by French Captain de la Touche on his frigate at which President Huntington received a thirteen-gun salute.[78]

During his Presidency Huntington carried on a very active correspondence with French officials, including especially Luzerne and Lafayette. The relations seem to have been very cordial—a fortunate situation since Huntington frequently relayed to the French Congressional requests for large loans from them. Huntington's letters took pains, also, to praise the French troops in

America from whom powerful assistance was expected.[79]

Like prominent public officials from time immemorial, Huntington found himself the target of criticism from many directions, and often over relatively insignificant matters. At the funeral in Philadelphia on May 4, 1780, of Don Juan de Miralles, Spanish agent, there occurred an incident which was magnified out of all proportion. Huntington and other American leaders, as a mark of respect, attended the funeral at St. Joseph's Church. At the church the priest presented the holy water to Luzerne, French minister, and he sprinkled himself. He then handed it to Huntington, who after slight hesitation, followed his example, as did the others. Since Huntington was a staunch Congregationalist he performed the act only as a friendly and diplomatic gesture. Criticism came quickly, however, from Benedict Arnold, and others; and Rivington's Tory newspaper at New York gleefully recounted the affair in highly exaggerated fashion.[80]

Rivington's press aimed another barbed shaft at Huntington in a mock poem published in November 1779:

"Joy to great Congress, joy an hundred fold,
The grand cajolers are themselves cajol'd,
The farce of empire will be finish'd soon,
And each mock monarch dwindle to a loon;
Mock money and mock States shall melt away,
And the mock troops disband for want of pay.
E'en now decisive ruin is prepar'd,
E'en now the heart of Huntington is scar'd."[81]

Huntington served as President during some of the darkest months of the War when the financial structure of the Young Nation approached complete collapse. Congress admitted the virtual worthlessness of the older Continental paper issues by valuing them at one-fortieth that of the new issue. Washington's army remained in dire straits throughout 1780 and the winter following as food and supplies dribbled in on a meager day-to-day basis. From the South, the principal theater of military activity throughout Huntington's Presidency, came news of two stunning defeats—the loss of Charleston with Lincoln's Army, and the disastrous rout at Camden. The Vermont crisis meanwhile deepened, and persistent haggling over the western lands delayed ratification and activation of the Articles of Confederation.

Huntington understood the gravity of the general situation only too clearly. He feared that the Army would not be able to get through the winter of 1779-1780 "alltho from the best Intelligence I can obtain their is a fullness in the Country, Individuals Seem to have laid aside all thoughts of danger, and are pursuing their private gain in Opposition to the public." Huntington added: "our resources are Sufficient but the Embarrassments of our finnances the Security of the Inhabitants are rather great in attention to public good & Safety may still continue our Trouble & perhaps increase our danger."[82]

The critical shortage of food for the Continental Army formed the theme of scores of letters to state leaders from Huntington throughout 1780 and 1781. In January 1780, for instance, the dire lack of meat caused him to comment bitterly to Trumbull: "must it be said that our Army disbanded for want of provisions in the midst of plenty."[83] Later that year Congress voted an urgent requisition upon New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to furnish 1000 head of cattle weekly. In advising Governor Trumbull of this

action Huntington bluntly warned that if "the States fail substantially to comply with this Requisition, it is more than probable the Army must disband, or supply themselves at the Point of the Bayonet, and the most fatal Consequences must ensue."[84] Unlike some other years, the shortage of foodstuffs persisted even through the warmer months of the year. Repeatedly the President wrote to the Governors to plead for immediate despatch of such necessities as beef, cattle on the hoof, and flour.[85] The states ordinarily were tardy in forwarding their quotas of food, and Huntington must have grown very weary from frequent repetition of demands that they comply with the Congressional requisitions.

As might be expected, Huntington carried on much correspondence with General Washington and other military leaders. Most of this consisted of the transmission of news of Congressional action or reaction, and the President rarely seized the opportunity to add much of a personal nature. At times the duty of correspondence was highly unpleasant as on October 31, 1780 when Huntington informed Washington of the rout of the American Army at Camden. On the other hand, Washington must have found very pleasant Huntington's letter which officially praised him for his firm but tactful handling of the mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line in January, 1781.[86]

During Huntington's presidency the half-pay issue once more demanded attention; and this time Congress reversed its previous decision and voted half-pay for life to all officers. Huntington again opposed the measure:

> "Though I am as willing as others Generously to reward the Officers of the Army, and think they merit much from their Country, yet I have ever been opposed to Pensions for Life as a Reward for their Services, as inconsistent with the Genious & Spirit of our Constitution."

He realized that the officers would dislike the opponents of the bill; but he was "much more concerned on account of its Consequences among the People."[87]

Another of Huntington's time-consuming responsibilities consisted of keeping in touch with American representatives abroad. The correspondence with Franklin in Paris, for example, involved both weighty and insignificant matters. In the latter category was a request from Franklin that Huntington extend all possible courtesies to a Baron d'Arendt who, against Franklin's advice, was seeking a commission in the American army.[88] Not infrequently Franklin received requests to make large purchases, often on credit. Huntington lamented "the Necessity which hath occasioned so many Draughts" upon him and expressed hope that the fiscal affairs of the United States would soon be organized so as to avoid such requests. About a year later Franklin informed Huntington that because of heavy expenses in Holland and Spain he could honor no further monetary requests until more money was sent. Otherwise the credit of Congress would be adversely affected.[89] John Adams in France and John Jay in Spain also carried on an extensive correspondence with Huntington.[90]

Despite many earlier promises that Continental money would be redeemed at par, Congress on March 18, 1781 made a sudden about-face. It decided to redeem the notes outstanding at one-fortieth face value, and to issue limited quantities of new bills redeemable in specie in six years. Each state had to redeem its share.[91] This necessitated the regular monthly collection of taxes for redemption of outstanding currency. Huntington pointed out to the

States that the act was "the result of much Labour and Deliberation . . . the happiest Expedient that could be adopted to extricate these States from the Embarrassments of a fluctuating Medium and at the same time in some Measure afford the necessary means for supporting the ensuing Campaign." Each State, therefore, should enact promptly the necessary laws to carry out Congress' objectives. Four months later Huntington wrote Trumbull that if all the states had acted upon the March 18 resolve "with the wisdom and decision" of Connecticut "we should have been extricated out of our embarrassments in a great degree and almost insensibly."[92] In September he noted realistically:

> "The situation of our finances yet remains distressing and seems the true cause to which every other difficulty and embarrassment may be traced up. It is from this source Congress has been driven thro' dire necessity to adopt measures which they would have gladly avoided, and which, I presume, are disagreeable to all, and perhaps unaccountable to some of the States."

Despite Huntington's exhortations and expressed optimism, the States as usual largely failed to meet their obligations, and the new notes depreciated rapidly.[93]

Among the especially unpleasant tasks of the President was that of prodding states lacking even a single representative in Congress to dispatch one speedily. In April 1781 Huntington wrote Governor Lee of Maryland that "it is earnestly requested that a Representative may be kept in Congress at present Matters very important & interesting require a full Representation from all the States. It is to be hoped and expected that one or more Delegates from Maryland may immediately come forward if not already on the Way." Sadly enough it was then necessary also to send similar letters to New York, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.[94]

Huntington gained much experience in exerting tactful but firm pressure upon individual states and their leaders. In the spring of 1781, for instance, he sent out a circular letter which informed each governor that Congress had voted a requisition of $6,000,000 from the states. Huntington broke the bad news as gracefully as possible:

> "It is with Reluctance that Congress are compelled to make this Requisition, but the absolute Necessity of the Case will appear so obvious that we presume the respective States will yield a ready & chearful Compliance therewith to the utmost of their Power."[95]

There is little doubt that the cumulative effect of heavy and difficult correspondence, presiding over a highly factious Congress, the frequent reception of important American and foreign personages, the existence of numerous, unsolved, major public problems, and neglected personal affairs, reacted unfavorably upon Huntington's health. In April 1780 he wrote:

> "My time is so incessantly employ'd in the Indispensible engagements allotted to me at present as obliges me to confide in my Collegues to Transmit to your Excellency and the State we have the honour to represent most of the Intelligence which is not Official—and I doubt not my particular Situation and confinement will plead an excuse for me in omitting what in other circumstances would Justly be deemed a neglect."[96]

A few weeks later he reported to Trumbull: "I have been confined to busi-

ness until past midnight for several Nights." To make matters worse he contracted smallpox in June 1780. A month later he observed that "the weight and burden of business is Continually increasing and like to increase while the war continues."[97]

As the expiration of one year as President approached he unburdened himself to Governor Trumbull:

> "The period that confines me to my present painful situation is almost expired, and as I have been long absent from my private affairs, and my health somewhat impaired with the burden and fatigue of business, I hope to obtain leave of absence in almost one month, and wish a gentleman from Connecticutt better qualified may come forward to relieve me."[98]

On September 28 Congress took up the matter of the Presidency. The body voted affirmatively upon a motion of Samuel Adams that the rule laid down in the Articles of Confederation for election of President be postponed. Huntington who wanted to resign then informed Congress that he had served one year, whereupon it was resolved "That no rule or practice of the house limits the term for which the President is elected." The members passed it unanimously, with Huntington abstaining from the vote. Congress disposed of the matter by voting that the President should continue in office not more than one additional year, and that all future elections should be in accord with the rules stated in the Articles.[99]

Huntington, therefore, continued in the undesired office for most of the second year. If anything, problems thickened; but there were some bright spots. One of these was the long-delayed adoption of the Articles of Confederation. After the almost interminable debates upon the issue there was pleasure at the outcome. Huntington observed: "We are happy to congratulate our Constituents on this important Event, desired by our Friends but dreaded by our Enemies."[100]

In April 1781 Huntington tendered his resignation and cited ill health as the reason; but Congress delayed acceptance of it. On July 6 he insisted that Congress release him, which was done on July 10. His successor was Thomas McKean of Delaware.[101] The same day Huntington wrote Washington:

> "My health is so much impaired by long confinement and application as compels me to retire from Congress. . . . It also gives me much satisfaction on retiring to see our public affairs in many respects wear a more promising aspect than heretofore. . . . The distresses we have suffered from the deranged state of our finances begin to be relieved; and the arrangements taken by the appointment of a Superintendent of Finance and the measures he is adopting, give me great encouragement on that most important subject."[102]

Certainly affairs had taken a pronounced turn for the better during the last months of Huntington's presidency. Even the military situation was the brightest in a long time.

After his replacement, Huntington lost little time in going home. Apparently he departed from Philadelphia on July 12, and, about twelve days later, reached Norwich where he received the noisy welcome of a thirteen-gun salute.[103] At last Huntington had his long-awaited opportunity for relaxation and attention to personal affairs.

Huntington quickly settled down into the old routine of life at Norwich which included the usual periods of public service. The war continued, but it came no closer to Norwich than Arnold's raid upon New London. There were rumors of an attack again Norwich itself, and Huntington reported preparations to repel any enemy incursion.[104] Fortunately none occurred.

Huntington faithfully attended the General Assembly sessions of October 1781, January 1782, and May 1782, and was reelected yearly to his legislative and judicial offices. As in previous years he was placed upon several joint committees of which perhaps the most important was that to consider giving Congress power to levy a five percent import duty. Huntington and Sherman, as conferees from the Upper House, found that many disagreements and revisions were experienced in reaching an agreement.[105] The final version approved by the Assembly gave Congress power to levy such a duty, but stipulated that the duties be applied to principal and interest on debts. It would take effect when the other states took similar action, and none of the money should be used for the payment of any pension or half-pay plan.[106]

As 1783 arrived, Huntington continued to play a highly active role in public affairs. After he had attended the legislative sessions at Hartford on January 8 he stayed on for Council of Safety meetings. Altogether he contributed seventeen days in this service during January and February plus occasional days each succeeding month through July.[107]

One of the few extant family letters of Huntington belongs to this period, and it reads much like that of any affectionate father to his son. Actually it was written to his nephew, Samuel Huntington, at Dartmouth College, the young man whom he adopted. This nephew had written him on February 20, 1783 and had mentioned, among other matters, that bane of students of all ages, a shortage of funds! Huntington replied that he had sent £5 to the young man's father to be forwarded to him.

> "My former letter accompanied with a singing book which you had requested, I trust you have also received.
>
> Altho I am much from home & may not receive your letters at an early period, yet hope you will write by every opportunity, your Aunt & the family receive much pleasure in hearing from you, & by your Aunt the letters are forwarded to me wherev[er] I happen to be. . . . Friends are generally well. Your Aunt & Sister present their love to you."[108]

In the meantime Huntington was sent back to Congress for his final term. The General Assembly had elected him as a delegate in May 1782, but he did not attend that year. When the legislature repeated in May 1783, Huntington reluctantly accepted the assignment.

He arrived at Princeton, scene of the session, on July 29 and remained until November 4. Although the military struggle was over, Huntington soon discovered that the war had left behind many knotty problems. Through committee assignments he was enabled to take a hand in various of these problems such as the future residence of the central government (not finally decided), the wisdom of finally discharging the soldiers in the Continental Army (recommended), and a proclamation setting December 11 as a day of Public Thanks.[109]

Life at Princeton was enlivened by a visit from General Washington who was invited to consult with Congress upon several matters. While Washington was there Huntington invited him to breakfast on September 22. The next

day Washington and Huntington were among the many notables who attended Princeton's commencement.[110]

Huntington decided that for personal reasons he did not wish to serve beyond November 1 and informed the General Assembly to that effect. The General Assembly acceded to his request. Huntington's final official action came as a member of a committee which composed an answer to a congratulatory letter to Congress from the rulers of the Free City of Hamburg.[111] On November 4, 1783 Huntington happily departed from Princeton and a few days later he reached Norwich. His Congressional and Revolutionary experience was finished!

Huntington quietly and modestly had participated in many of the more stirring political events of the Revolution. Ordinarily one would consider his two greatest claims to fame to be signing the Declaration of Independence and serving as President of Congress. Yet it seems probable that equally significant were his much less dramatic but very solid contributions as an Assistant and as a member of the Governor's Council of Safety. Unquestionably he ranked as one of Governor Trumbull's closest and most trusted advisers. Huntington never was a colorful figure, but he did possess to a marked degree qualities of moderation, balanced judgment, and prescience which made him an almost ideal "expediter" in complicated and emotion-ridden situations. Certainly he enjoyed a high ratio of success in such endeavors.

Since Huntington practiced great economy of words in writing and speech, and most of his personal correspondence has vanished, it has been virtually impossible to uncover any detailed expressions of his political philosophy. Perhaps one may best characterize him simply as a conservative Patriot. He sincerely desired separation from the British Empire; but he wished it accomplished in an orderly manner with as little bloodshed as possible. This review of his Revolutionary career suggests, in any event, that he deserves a niche in the top echelon of Connecticut's Revolutionary leaders.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Simon Huntington, born Aug. 7, 1583, married Margaret Baret on June 21, 1627. Soon afterwards Margaret's father served as mayor of Norwich, England. The young couple with four children sailed for America in 1633, but Simon died of smallpox just before the ship reached Massachusetts. For a time Margaret and her children lived in Dorchester, but soon they moved to Connecticut. Two of the sons, Christopher and Simon, belonged to the group which founded Norwich. Samuel's father, Nathaniel, was the grandson of the Simon who helped to settle Norwich. *The Huntington Family In America* (Hartford, 1915), p. 11; Frances M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (Norwich, 1866), pp. 179-180.

Joseph Strong, Samuel Huntington's pastor for many years, described him as "the son of an affluent farmer." Henry Strong Huntington, "The Life of Samuel Huntington," p. 3. This very useful typed study by a direct descendant is available in a photostatic copy at the Connecticut State Library. It is cited henceforth as "L.S.H."

The Nathaniel Huntington home, a capacious and well-built structure, erected about 1700, stands today at the original location in Scotland, which is now on State Highway Route 14. Architectural and historical information about the house may be found in "Nathaniel Huntington House, Scotland," one of the series sponsored by the Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America, and available at the Connecticut State Library.

[2] L.S.H., pp. 1-3.

[3] L.S.H., p. 8. In the minister's library were such books as Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Hume's *History of England*, Johnson's *Rambler and Idler*, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, Newton's *Optics*, and Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] Caulkins, pp. 303, 306, 310; Mary G. Powell, "A Scotchman's Journey in New England in 1771," *New England Magazine*, New Ser., XII (May 1895), 349. The "Scotchman" was William Gregory who with another Scot, ran a general store in New Haven from 1766 to 1774. The official census of 1756 gave Norwich township a population of 5540. The town was growing rapidly and reached 7327 in the 1774 census, which made it the second-most-populous in the Colony. For the complete census figures see *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1887. Henceforth cited as *Col. Recs.*) XIV, 487, 492.

[6] Caulkins, p. 516; Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County* (Worcester, 1880) II, 54-56.

[7] L.S.H. pp. 10, 14; Benjamin and William Ellery to Samuel Huntington, Newport, R. I., May 7, 1770, Emmet Coll. No. 5765, New York Public Library. Huntington was representing them in a legal case. Connecticut Archives (Henceforth cited as "Arch." The Archives are located at Connecticut State Library) Insolvent Debtors I, doc. 205. Also, William Phillips to Samuel Huntington, Boston, Jan. 17, 1772. Emmet Coll., No. 5116. E. B. Huntington, *A Genealogical Memoir of the Huntington Family* (Stamford, Conn., 1863), p. 112.

[8] Arch., Lotteries and Divorces, 1755-1789, I, doc. 29. The legislature rejected the petition.

[9] *Col. Recs.*, XII, 340.

[10] For an eighteenth-century Connecticut governor to fail of re-election when he desired it was very rare. The marked impact of the Stamp Act upon Connecticut's politics is clearly described in Oscar Zeichner's *Connecticut's Years of Controversy* (Chapel Hill, 1949), pp. 48-77.

[11] Arch., Revolutionary War, First Series, (henceforth cited "Arch. Rev. War") I, doc. 34. Many Norwich leaders including Andrew and Jedidiah Huntington, Joshua Lathrop, and Andrew, Christopher, Elisha, and Thomas Leffingwell, signed the petition.

[12] Susan D. Huntington, "Samuel Huntington," *Connecticut Magazine* VI (May-June, 1900), 248; L.S.H., pp. 19-21.

[13] Caulkins, pp. 516-17; L.S.H., pp. 11, 15.

[14] Mary E. Perkins, *Old Houses of the Antient Town of Norwich, 1660-1800* (Norwich, 1895), p. 124; Zeichner, pp. 295-96, n.62.

[15] Arch., Lotteries and Divorces, 1755-1789, I, docs. 46, 76, 77; *Col. Recs.*, XIII, 610.

[16] *Col. Recs.*, XIV, 74. Huntington replaced William Samuel Johnson who had resigned. Huntington's appointment as Chief Justice is given in *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1895-1953. Hereafter they are cited as *State Recs.*) V, 319. Arch., Miscellaneous, Ser. I, 1635-1789, III, doc. 304.

[17] *Col. Recs.*, XIV, 184, 254.

[18] *Col. Recs.*, XV, 4. Huntington had been elected by the town of Norwich to represent it in the Lower House at the May 1775 session. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[19] Only Governor Trumbull (4144 votes), Deputy-Governor Griswold (4325), and William Pitkin (4180) exceeded Huntington. *Col. Recs.*, XV, 173n-74n. Only a small proportion of Connecticut's adult male population could vote in the late colonial period. *See* Zeichner, pp. 7-8.

[20] The *Norwich Packet*, May 26, 1774.

[21] Extracts from the Revolutionary Records of Norwich, 1774-1784 (Conn. State Library), pp. 1-2. Other members of the committee were Isaac Tracy, Capt. Jedidiah Huntington, Christopher Leffingwell, Elisha Fitch, Simon Tracy, Jr., Capt. Joseph Trumbull, Benjamin Huntington, and Capt. Zabdiel Rogers.

[22] Arch., Trumbull Papers, IV, doc. 14. A deposition by Caleb Scott, a traveler who witnessed the attacks upon Green, is substantially in agreement with Green's account. *Ibid.*, doc. 13. Upon his return to Boston Green offered a reward of one hundred dollars for apprehension of his attackers. He criticized strongly the magistrate of Norwich (Huntington) who failed to protect him. This procla-

mation appeared in *Massachusetts Gazette* for July 13, 1774 and is reprinted in Caulkins, pp. 375-76.

[23] Zeichner, p. 179.

[24] Caulkins, p. 379.

[25] Arch. Rev. War I, docs. 362-63.

[26] *Ibid.*, doc. 179; *Col. Recs.*, XV, 39. Most of the members lived in close proximity to Lebanon, the Governor's home. Otherwise it is improbable that three Huntingtons would have been selected. The Council of Safety met in Trumbull's small store (still preserved), called "The War Office," located a few rods north of his residence.

[27] *Col. Recs.*, XV, 107-32.

[28] Arch. Rev. War I, docs. 286, 375. The latter document is an order for £200 payable to Huntington and Wolcott for expenses of attendance at Congress; *Col. Recs.*, XV, 176-83, 185, 221.

[29] *Col. Recs.*, XV, 176-77, 201-2. The mutinous sailors previously had been summarily discharged. Huntington later submitted a bill of 18s. for thirty miles of travel to Lyme and back.

[30] Oliver Wolcott to Mrs. Wolcott, Philadelphia, Jan. 17, 1776, in Edmund Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-36; hereafter cited as "Burnett") I, 316. Wolcott and Huntington replaced Eliphalet Dyer and Silas Deane. Dyer was overjoyed at the relief, but Deane expressed himself as "Confoundedly Chagrined at his recall." Eliphalet Dyer to Joseph Trumbull, Jan. 1, 1776, Burnett, I, 292-93.

[31] Huntington's time away from home is precisely indicated by his expense account which reveals an absence upon official business of 312 days (Jan. 1, 1776-Nov. 7, 1776). For this period he asked the usual per diem rate given Connecticut delegates, 18s., for a total of £280 16s. Arch. Rev. War, XXXIII, doc. 334.

[32] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, (Washington, 1904-28; hereafter cited as *Journals*) IV, 186; VI, 885, 1066, 1068; XV, 1446. L.S.H., pp. 37, 40.

[33] *Journals*, IV, 59-60, 169, 171, 273, 340; V, 524, 732, 835, 840; VI, 874, 885.

[34] L.S.H., p. 41.

[35] *Journals*, VI, 1083. Thomas Jefferson, speaking several minutes later, declared: "I protest against the right of Congress to decide upon the right of Virginia. Virginia has released all claims to the land settled by Maryland, &c." *Ibid.*

[36] Susan Huntington, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.

[37] Shaw Collection (Sterling Library, Yale University), packet 30, no. 8603.

[38] Huntington to Matthew Griswold, Eliphalet Dyer, and William Pitkin, Sept. 7, 1776, W. G. Lane Collection (Sterling Library).

[39] Williams to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Nov. 6, 1776, Burnett, II, 142.

[40] *State Recs.* I, 57, 60-79. Several Huntingtons, including Jabez, Benjamin, and Jedidiah, were very prominent in Connecticut's political and/or military leadership of the Revolutionary period.

[41] Arch. Rev. War, V, docs. 112-13. In the General Assembly joint committees frequently consisted of one member from the Upper House and several from the Lower House.

[42] *Ibid.*, docs. 203, 285-290.

[43] *State Recs.*, I, 104-5. This rest was broken by attendance at one meeting of the Council of Safety on Dec. 27. *Ibid.*, I, 153.

[44] Arch. Rev. War, VIII, docs. 62, 63. The final act may be found in *State Recs.*, I, 230-31. Huntington also represented the Upper House in a related economic problem—encouragement of the production of salt. The joint committee failed to agree upon a definite bounty whereupon the two houses dodged the settlement by passing the entire issue over to the Governor and Council of Safety. Arch. Rev. War, VII, docs. 369-70; *State Recs.*, I, 243.

[45] Arch. Rev. War, VII, docs. 41-43, 142. *State Recs.*, I, 240-42. The Lower House stuck by its bill and apparently largely won out. The final act appears in *State Recs.*, I, 230.

[46] The proceedings of the Convention are included in *State Recs.*, I, 599-606. Unfortunately individual speeches are not recorded so that Huntington's personal

contributions are unknown. The commissions of the Connecticut delegates are found in Arch. Rev. War, VII, doc. 390. Huntington submitted a bill of £14 1s. 1d. for eleven days service which included travel time. Arch. Rev. War, VII, doc. 440.

[47] Arch. Rev. War, VII, doc. 398. *See State Recs.*, I, 373 for details of the act.

[48] An earlier committee, appointed in May, had met with the Corporation, but had failed to solve many problems. *State Recs.* I, 424, 483. Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), II, 253-54.

[49] Burnett, III, 165-66, 394.

[50] Connecticut Delegates to the Governor of Connecticut, May 18, 1778, Burnett, III, 255. "Notes on Measure for Half-Pay," *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

[51] Rhode Island, New Jersey, South Carolina, and eventually Massachusetts, opposed half-pay for life. Burnett, III, 255. On May 15 Congress voted the measure with only two negative votes of which one was cast by Oliver Wolcott, a Connecticut delegate. *Journals* XI, 502-3.

[52] It is probable that Huntington drew up a proposal for a treaty with Great Britain (dated April 30(?), 1778) "upon Terms not inconsistent with the Freedom, Sovereignty and Independence of these States." Burnett, III, 207-8, 208n. William Henry Drayton submitted a substitute motion on May 1 which called upon France and Spain for a large loan and their immediate declaration of war against Great Britain. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[53] The committee consisted of Jonathan B. Smith, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and Huntington. Burnett III, 344-45, 344n., 345n. The *Journals* do not record any specific action upon this report, although it may well have exerted some influence upon subsequent Congressional action.

[54] Huntington presented a bill for £153 covering 170 days of service in Congress from January 30 to July 18, 1778. His last day in Congress was July 7. Arch. Rev. War XXXIII, doc. 334.

[55] Trumbull Papers, VIII, doc. 235. William Pitkin received the highest total, 2862 votes. A year later Huntington again ran second to Pitkin. *Ibid.*, doc. 90.

[56] Huntington to Laurens, Nov. 23, 1778. Emmet Coll., no. 2481.

[57] Arch. Rev. War, XIII, docs. 19, 20; *State Recs.*, II, 180. Huntington in another joint committee studied a similar petition from officers of several matross companies. The committee's report was followed closely in the legislative enactment which authorized bounties for officers and men. Arch. Rev. War, XIII, docs. 365-367; *State Recs.*, II, 181.

[58] Arch. Rev. War, doc. 49; *State Recs.*, II, 230-1. Huntington also acted as chairman of a joint committee to consider several resolutions of Congress. Among other things, the committee recommended the appointment of a subclothier. The first incumbent of the new position was Elijah Hubbard of Middletown.

[59] Burnett, IV, 382. The letter quoted above was dated Aug. 18, 1779. In a letter on July 3, Huntington had expressed sympathy with Wadsworth over his many difficulties.

[60] *Journals*, XIV, 852-53.

[61] Burnett, IV, 301. He wrote to Wadsworth about finances on July 22, and again noted Congress' good intentions and the need of loans and taxes. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-35.

[62] *Journals*, XIV, 922. The committee was appointed on Aug. 4, 1779. In a letter to Gov. Trumbull on Sept. 9, 1779 Huntington exclaimed: "God grant we may not be disappointed in the Expectation [of peace]." Arch., Trumbull Papers, X, doc. 146.

[63] *Journals*, XIV, 1002, 1220-3; XVI, 61-64.

[64] *Ibid.*, XV, 1046-47, 1083-84.

[65] *Ibid.*, XV, 1036, 1095-99.

[66] *Connecticut Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1779. Charles Chauncey also received this degree. Dr. John Bartlett of Rhode Island and Deputy-Governor Matthew Griswold of Connecticut were awarded other honorary degrees at the same time.

[67] Huntington to Gov. Trumbull, Sept. 9, 1779, Arch., Trumbull Papers, X, doc. 146.

[68] *Journals*, XV, 1114. Jay wrote Gov. Clinton of New York, "Mr. Hunting-

ton of Connecticut is now President of Congress, and I am persuaded will fill that office with Propriety." Burnett, IV, 459.

[69] Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York, 1941), p. 34.

[70] Burnett, *Letters*, IV, 449n.; *Journals*, XV, 1099-1100. The letter to Gen. Stirling is in the Emmet Coll., no. 8165. Examples of circular letters may be found in Burnett IV, 536 (on embargoes) and in Trumbull Papers, XII, doc. 269 (on quotas of Continental bills). Huntington probably wrote about 300 official letters while President. Copies of them (many originals at Library of Congress) are available in a collection made by Henry Strong Huntington, kept on file at the Connecticut State Library.

[71] Burnett, IV, 527.

[72] Emmet Coll., no. 1566.

[73] *Norwich Packet*, Dec. 21, 1779.

[74] *Journals*, XII, 1222-23 (Dec. 16, 1778). A carriage and horses were delivered to Huntington late in August, 1780. L.S.H., p. 111.

[75] Arch. Trumbull Papers, XI, doc. 32. Huntington wrote the next day to Treasurer John Lawrence of Connecticut and repeated the request. He explained that he must "receive the Company of all Foreigners of Distinction," and, in general, he faced added expenses as President. Arch. Rev. War, XVI, doc. 537.

[76] Arch. Rev. War, XV, doc. 332; Burnett V, 472-73. Huntington's expenses as President so far exceeded his income that he later petitioned the legislature for £384 to cover this deficit. In May 1782 the legislators finally voted this amount. Arch. Rev. War, XXXIII, docs. 333-34; *State Recs.*, IV, 207.

[77] Translated from passage in *Voyages de M. Le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1788), I, 167-8, 229.

[78] L.S.H., p. 112. Apropos of Huntington's simplicity is the story told by Peter du Ponceau, Provost of the Law Academy at Philadelphia. One morning Huntington and du Ponceau breakfasted upon huckleberries and milk. As du Ponceau relates it, Huntington exclaimed: "What now, Mr. du Ponceau, would the Princes of Europe say if they could see the first magistrate of this great country at his frugal repast?" L.S.H., p. 115.

[79] L.S.H., p. 90. When Lafayette visited Boston in 1824 he met Col. Benjamin Huntington. Upon finding that he was a relative of Samuel Huntington, Lafayette is supposed to have exclaimed: "Young man, you have noble blood in you; see that you never dishonor it." *Ibid.*, p. 91. Typical of Huntington's French letters are: President of Congress to Minister of France, Aug. 31, 1780; Dec. 20, 1780, Burnett, V, 349, 494-95. In the second letter a loan of 25,000,000 livres was sought. In a letter of Aug. 19, 1780 to Rochambeau Huntington stated: "The Spirit, good Order and Discipline of the Troops under your Command meets with the warmest Approbation of Congress." *Ibid.*, p. 335.

[80] L.S.H., pp. 92-93; Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution* (Hartford, 1875), p. 794 quotes from *Rivington's Gazette* for May 30, 1780. Huntington went to mass with Luzerne on Nov. 4, 1781. L.S.H., p. 93.

[81] Excerpt is from a poem "The Congratulation," which appeared in *Rivington's Gazette* for Nov. 6, 1779, and is quoted in Moore's *Diary*, p. 765.

[82] Huntington to Gov. Trumbull, Dec. 20, 1779, Samuel Huntington Correspondence, 1779-92 (copy at Connecticut State Library).

[83] Arch., Trumbull Papers, XI, doc. 24.

[84] The letter is dated Sept. 15, 1780. Burnett, V, 371-72.

[85] Some of the more important letters to and from Huntington are found in Burnett, IV, 544-45 (Dec. 21, 1779); V, 132-34 (May 10, 1780), 253-54 (July 10), 271-78 (July 18), 288-90 (July 23), 301-4 (July 30), 317 (Aug. 8), 371-72 (Sept. 15), 375-76 (Sept. 16), 410 (Oct. 7), 449 (Nov. 16), 496 (Dec. 22), 522 (Jan. 9, 1781).

[86] Burnett V, 349, 544. Sometimes Huntington could report only a state of great uncertainty as in his letter of June 12, 1780 to Washington: "We are still held in Suspense, having no certain Accounts respecting the Fate of Charlestown, but a Variety of Reports in Contradiction to each other." Huntington's Presidential letters to Washington reached a total of at least sixty, far more than he wrote officially to any other person.

[87] Huntington to Trumbull, Oct. 26, 1780, Arch. Trumbull Papers, XIII, doc. 115.

[88] Franklin to Huntington, July 10, 1780, Benjamin Franklin Personal Papers (New York Public Library).

[89] Huntington to Franklin, July 12, 1780; Burnett, V, 260; Franklin to Huntington, July 11, 1781, Benjamin Franklin Personal Papers.

[90] *See* Francis Wharton, ed., *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, III and IV (Washington, 1889) for Adams-Huntington and Jay-Huntington correspondence. There are also, many Adams-Huntington letters in Charles F. Adams, ed., *The Papers of John Adams*, vol. III (Boston, 1852).

[91] *Journals*, XVI, 262-67. The entire Connecticut delegation voted affirmatively.

[92] The President of Congress to the Several States, Mar. 20, 1780, Burnett, V, 81-82; Huntington to Trumbull, July 22, 1780; Burnett V, 284-85.

[93] Huntington to Trumbull, Sept. 4, 1780; Burnett, V, 359. Ezra Stiles in May 1781 noted the staggering depreciation of Continental currency which he quoted at 150 to 1 in Philadelphia, 100 to 1 in New Haven, and 130 to 1 in Boston. Dexter, *Diary*, II, 532.

[94] Burnett, VI, 64.

[95] *Ibid.*, VI, 33.

[96] *Ibid.*, V, 113.

[97] May 20, 1780, Arch., Trumbull Papers, XI, doc. 196; Oliver Ellsworth to Governor Trumbull, June 23, 1780, *Ibid.*, XII, doc. 41; Huntington to the Rev. James Cogswell, July 22, 1780, Burnett, V, 285.

[98] Burnett, V, 360.

[99] *Journals*, XVIII, 869-71.

[100] Arch., Trumbull Papers, XIV, doc. 114. On May 2, 1781 Congress appointed a committee of one member from each state to study and revise the thirteenth article of the Articles of Confederation. Huntington represented Connecticut. *Journals*, XX, 469-71.

[101] On July 9 Congress chose Samuel Johnston of North Carolina as President. On July 10 he declined the honor, whereupon Congress elected Thomas McKean, *Journals*, XX, 732-33.

[102] L.S.H., pp. 119-20. Other Presidents also had found the position exhausting. When Henry Laurens resigned in Dec. 1778, after thirteen months of service, James Duane reported that Laurens was "worn down with fatigue." Burnett, III, 529.

[103] Arch. Rev. War, XXXIII, doc. 333; *Norwich Packet*, Aug. 7, 1781. President Stiles of Yale noted that Huntington passed through New Haven on July 23 and visited briefly with him. Dexter, II, 549. Hence Huntington should have reached Norwich either that day or the following one.

[104] Huntington to Richard Law, Nov. 8, 1781, W. G. Lane Coll.

[105] Arch. Rev. War, XXII, doc. 277.

[106] *State Recs.*, IV, 153-4.

[107] The last session which Huntington attended was that of July 16, 1783. This seems to have been the next-to-last meeting of the body. *State Recs.*, V, 1-201, *passim*.

[108] Mar. 25, 1783, Emmet Coll., no. 612.

[109] *Journals*, XXV, 603-4, 647-60, 699-700, 703-5.

[110] Varnum L. Collins, *The Continental Congress at Princeton* (Princeton, 1908), pp. 131, 161. The occasion of the breakfast was the meeting of a committee with Washington to discuss a letter from Gen. du Portail concerning peacetime Army organization.

[111] *Journals*, XXV, 757-8.

WANTED

Our *Annual Report* for 1943 and 1950 for Oklahoma A & M College and Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore. Also our *Bulletin* Vol. 11, No. 1; Vol. 12, No. 1 and No. 3; Vol. 13, No. 1; and Vol. 17, No. 4.

The "Bounty" Bible

Levi Hayden of Windsor was born December 17, 1813, the seventh child of Hezekiah and Hannah (Hayden) Hayden. His parents died young, scattering their twelve children to be brought up among friends and relatives. At sixteen Levi Hayden was apprenticed to Elijah F. Reed of Hartford as house and ship joiner. When of age, young Levi went to Chicago. He returned in 1835 and shipped aboard the new steamer *Bangor* as carpenter and mail clerk. Following this trip, on September 9, 1836, he sailed as carpenter aboard the whaleship *Cyrus*, fitted from Nantucket, and bound for the Pacific.

Prior to his departure, Levi Hayden visited the Sailor's Home, established in connection with the Mariner's Church in Boston by the Rev. Daniel Miner Lord who was Pastor from 1834 to 1847. It was the Rev. Lord's custom to give a Bible to any sailor who stayed at the Sailor's Home previous to the long journeys at sea, often lasting eight or nine months of the year. The Bible Mr. Hayden received as a gift was later exchanged on Pitcairn Island.

The *Cyrus* put in at Callao, Marquesas Islands, and Tahiti—a familiar place to the *Bounty* crew. Another stop was Pitcairn Island. Among the one hundred descendants existing on the island at the time of Levi Hayden's arrival, Mrs. Mary Christian, the native wife and widow of Fletcher Christian, was still living, though then a very old woman.

When Mr. Hayden left Pitcairn Island in the Spring of 1840, he had with him two Bibles. One had been given him by the grandson of John Adams; the other, it is believed, he received from Mrs. Mary Christian. In exchange for them both, Mr. Hayden left his Bible, the gift of the Rev. Daniel Miner Lord, on Pitcairn Island.

When the *Cyrus* reached Boston in April, 1840, Levi Hayden gave the Pitcairn Island Bible to the Rev. Daniel Miner Lord. This Bible, printed by Alexander Kincaid in Edinburgh, Scotland, 1764, remained in the Lord family until 1924 when it was transferred by heirs to the Lenox Library in New York City.

The Ship's Bible, or *Bounty* Bible, Levi Hayden retained for himself. He treasured it until his death March 4, 1888. Twice married; first to Margaret Sargent of Boston who died in New York, 1880; and second to Annie Willard of Boston, there were no children by either marriage. Levi Hayden's Ship's Bible consequently found its way into his cousin's household, Hezekiah Sidney Hayden of Windsor. As Hezekiah Sidney Hayden was a member of The Connecticut Historical Society, his widow, Mrs. Abby Loomis Hayden, transferred the *Bounty* Bible to the Society's archives in 1896.

In January of 1949 a letter was received from A. W. Moverley, Education Officer, British Colonial Service at Pitcairn Island, requesting that the Ship's Bible be returned to Pitcairn where a suitable repository would be found for it. On January 4, 1949, the Society unanimously voted to return the Bible to Pitcairn Island on permanent loan. It was sent to the British Ambassador in Washington, D. C., and by him forwarded to London where it was repaired and rebound at the Public Record Office.

The Record Office reported that, on examination of the Bible, it was necessary to repair the torn and worn pages at the end of sections, and to renovate the binding. The volume was taken partly to pieces and, while in this condition, several findings were made.

The volume consisted of the Bible, and a Prayer Book, which had originally been two separate volumes. One of these had been bound in boards covered with calf. When the two volumes were bound up together, these boards were used in the new binding with some fragments of the original calf still adhering to them. This double volume was then covered with vellum. The vellum cover was the one familiar to the *Bounty* mutineers and their descendants on Pitcairn Island. Like the pages of the volume, the vellum cover had become broken and worn by use. At some period, the British Record Office claimed, probably about 1850-1860 after it had left Pitcairn Island, the Bible was rebound in leather with the remaining vellum cover attached to the outside. In restoration, both the leather cover and vellum fragments are preserved in the album.

Presented with these problems, the Record Office had four alternatives for reconstructing the Bible to its original form and, most significant, to that which was familiar to the *Bounty* crew. The first possibility was to break down the volume into Bible and Prayer Book again, binding each separately. This would reproduce the volume to its original form, but not as it had been familiar to the mutineers. Second, they could restore the leather cover, with the vellum cover attached to it, just as it had reached the Public Record Office. This would perpetuate the Bible's existing form, but the crew of the *Bounty*, as well as the Pitcairn Islanders, would not have recognized it as theirs. The third alternative was to rebind the volume in the style suggested by the vellum fragment, incorporating the vellum fragment already used. As the old and original vellum would make an unsatisfactory match, in color and texture, to the new vellum—this alternative was considered impracticable.

It was finally decided to rebind the entire volume in the style suggested by the vellum fragment—a form known to be familiar to Ship's Bibles of that period. All fragments of earlier bindings were carefully preserved. The front sections of the Bible were repaired with new paper. A number of letters and newspaper clippings, which had been pasted to the Bible, were transferred to the Prayer Book. The work was supervised and executed by Mr. T. B. Hassell, Chief Binder of the Binding Department of the Public Record Office, London.

The restoration and return of the Bible to its original home on Pitcairn Island is not the end of the story. This year, Edgar F. Waterman, past President of The Connecticut Historical Society, stopped off at Pitcairn Island. The island now has a population of 146 inhabitants. There are no wharfs, roads, or vehicles on the island. The people are Seventh Day Adventists, deeply religious, which is evident from their personal appearance and conduct. Parson Ferris, the present resident missionary for the inhabitants, is one of the leaders of the community, and the sixth in descent from Fletcher Christian.

Concerning the *Bounty* Bible, a quote from Mr. Waterman's letter will best explain how the islanders feel about the return of their Bible. "I was somewhat surprised to learn of the important part the return and possession of the Bible has played in their lives. She [Mrs. Ferris] proudly told me that a glass covered case has been made for it, and that it is placed on a table in front of their church. The Connecticut Historical Society did a greater thing than the mere return of the Bible."

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